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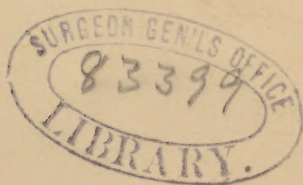
STATE REGULATION OF VICE.

REGULATION EFFORTS IN AMERICA.

THE GENEVA CONGRESS.

BY

AARON M. POWELL.



NEW YORK:
WOOD & HOLBROOK, PUBLISHERS,
13 AND 15 LAIGHT ST.
1878.

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INTRODUCTION.

STATE REGULATED vice has long existed in Europe. Within the past decade noteworthy efforts have been made to secure its introduction in America. It was introduced in Great Britain by act of Parliament in 1864, and applied to sundry military districts. It is significant that its introduction there was apparently the signal for various kindred initiatory efforts here. America is indebted to the old world for many good and ennobling institutions and influences, and some bad ones. The scheme to license, or regulate, social vice is of the latter class.

An International Congress held in Geneva, Switzerland, in September, 1877, attended by over five hundred delegates, representing fifteen countries, to promote the abolition of State regu-

lated vice, marks an important era of social progress, and foreshadows the ultimate, and, we trust, not far distant, abolition of the regulation system in Great Britain and on the Continent. A vigorous and potential agitation to this end is now in progress, which has been much strengthened and extended by the action and influence of the Geneva Congress.

Though in America there is no regulation, there are Regulationists. In New York there have been annual official recommendations of licensed prostitution, in 1875, 1876 and 1877, respectively, by a Committee of the State Legislature, by a Grand Jury of the City and County of New York, and by the Commissioners of Public Charities and Correction of New York. What Europe, in the light of a prolonged and bitter experience, is now struggling to abolish, it would be worse than suicidal folly for America, at this late day, to adopt. All true, high-minded men, and all women, should be on the alert to oppose and thwart all measures, by whomsoever proposed, and upon whatever plea, sanitary or otherwise, to give to prostitution a legal status and government sanc-

tion in this country. The Paris hospitals, where regulation prevails, crowded with the victims of venereal disease, proclaim the system worse than a sanitary failure, and that it not only does not afford protection to the public health, but that, as might be expected, in promoting sexual immorality, it aggravates and augments the fearful maladies which that immorality begets. The regulation system imperils the liberty and security of all women, especially of poor women and working girls. Women should everywhere make their voices heard and their influence felt, against it. It is of the most arbitrary and unjust type of oppressive legislation. Men and women should join in securing to women full and equal enfranchisement, that, as citizens, they may have a voice concerning legislation which involves so vitally not only their own personal welfare, but that of society and of the State as a whole.

The following papers were prepared for as many different occasions, with no thought, when they were written, of connected publication. The first, upon "State Regulated Vice," was read before the New York Committee for the

prevention of Licensed Prostitution, in April, 1877 ; the second, upon " Regulation Efforts in America," was prepared for the International Congress at Geneva, which the writer attended as a delegate ; and the third, upon " The Geneva Congress," is a sketch of the Congress and of its important proceedings and conclusions. It is hoped, that as now presented to the public in this little volume, they may be useful as a warning voice to prevent the introduction of State sanctioned vice in our own country, and as an appeal to the philanthropic, and to all good citizens here, to extend hearty sympathy and co-operation to those who are laboring for its abolition abroad.

I.

STATE REGULATION OF VICE.

IN 1875 the Legislature of the State of New York appointed a Committee on Crime to investigate and report upon the causes and increase of crime in the city of New York. The report of that Committee was presented to a succeeding Legislature early in 1876. The report takes cognizance of prostitution, then and now regarded by the law of the State, as by the "higher law," as a crime. The exhibit of the Committee in relation to the prevalence of prostitution, and the complicity of the police and other legal authorities in connection with it, is indeed a painful one. Nor are the police and the prostitutes alone involved. The Committee say: "Among the other curious elements that enter into this subject of prostitution, is the fact that a number of houses

in the Eighth and Fifteenth Wards, which are let and occupied as low dens, *are owned by highly reputable people, some of them pillars in the Church and State.*" They add, that "quite a number of these persons have been indicted, but the indictments appear to be mere matter of form ;" that "an indictment stands on record against an ex-mayor of the city for owning a house of prostitution."

The Committee assume that "Houses of prostitution, doubtless, must exist, and will continue to exist." They, therefore, take it upon themselves to earnestly recommend to the Legislature "*the regulating, or permitting, or,*" as they phrase it, "*if the word be not deemed offensive, the LICENSING of prostitution.*" They say they are "met at the outset with the suggestion that this is licensing crime," and with objection to the word "license," and they add, that, "as to terms," they "are not tenacious." "If anybody's conscience can be soothed, his moral doubts assuaged, by dropping the word 'license' and using the word 'regulation,' the Committee have no earthly objection." They then outline a scheme for "localizing" houses of prostitution, as Wall Street is appro-

priated to banking and brokerage, the "Swamp" to leather, etc. The State is to give to prostitution a recognized, legal status ; women, but not men, are to be licensed, registered, and officially inspected under police and medical supervision.

In June, 1876, the Grand Jury of the Court of General Sessions of the City and County of New York, made an official presentment concerning the social evil, in which they say, "that however abhorrent to the views of some, any legislation may be which appears to legalize so great an evil, still the fact must not be lost sight of that it is an evil impossible to suppress, yet comparatively easy to regulate and circumscribe." They declare it "wholly unwise to forego the benefits that may be derived from such a system" of regulation, "through a dread of appearing to countenance evil ;" and conclude with a memorial to the Legislature, "to adopt as early as practicable some system of laws calculated to confine houses of prostitution in the large cities of this State within certain specified limits, and to subject them at all times to the careful and vigilant supervision of the Boards of Health and Police." With the delinquencies of the police in dealing

with prostitution, shown by the Legislative Committee's Report, and recognized by the Grand Jury, the expectation that the same police officials would be any more virtuous or vigilant in enforcing a system of license or regulation, would not appear to be well founded,—even if anything so utterly abhorrent to the moral sense of the better portion of the community ought, under any circumstances, to be attempted.

Among those who want a system of government "inspection and control" of prostitutes, while at the same time disclaiming any desire for the introduction here of the French and European plan of licensing prostitution, are such sanitarians as are represented by Dr. J. Marion Sims, of the American Medical Association. In a late address before that Association, Dr. Sims argues for a system of "inspection and control" over women and men, by authority of the Legislature, by which "to prevent the importation of syphilis from abroad," and "to take charge of the subjects of syphilis at home, and prevent them from spreading it through the community." His scheme contemplates, in the matter of importation, that, "in the absence of qualified surgeons on board

steamers or sailing vessels," whether foreign or coastwise, entering port, it should devolve upon the quarantine officer *to examine every sailor and every STEERAGE passenger* before landing, and to send any and every case of syphilis to hospital for treatment."

Why his scheme omits from official "inspection and control" all first-class passengers, and includes only those of the steerage, he does not say. It is quite certain that the "first-class" debauchees of both sexes who come to us from Paris and other European centres of "State regulated vice," are much more dangerous to the public health and morality. That would be a poor sanitary safeguard indeed which, while maintaining official surveillance over the virtuous and vicious alike of the steerage, would allow well-to-do, "first-class" subjects of syphilis to import the odious disease without question or hindrance. Nor are we told *how* the system of "inspection and control," which is to find out, and "take charge of the subjects of syphilis at home," is to be worked. Whether those only who live in "tenement-houses" are to be thus officially waited upon and inspected, or whether "brown-stone fronts" are

to be equally subjected to the official jurisdiction of the Boards of Health and Police, remains to be seen. The "inspection and control" must include all—the virtuous and vicious, women and men, the rich and the poor alike—to make the "regulation" effective. In the summer of 1876 Dr. Sims, referring to his "regulation" scheme, wrote to a gentleman in England: "I shall try to pass a bill through the New York Legislature this winter, and have it in operation before I come to England again next year." He says: "In the Metropolitan Health Board, we find everything already prepared for engrafting this amendment upon its organic laws." We should be sorry to believe that Dr. Sims will have any very considerable following either in the Legislature or among intelligent physicians, in support of a "regulation" scheme so obviously worthless as a sanitary safeguard, so offensive morally, and so unjustly discriminating against the poor.

Several efforts have been made to license or "regulate" prostitution in the national capital,—the most recent during the session of the Forty-fourth Congress. The vigilance of the opponents of regulation defeated this, as it had other earlier

kindred efforts, and the obnoxious bill failed to become a law. Unsuccessful efforts have been also made to inaugurate licensed prostitution in other of our larger American cities, including Philadelphia, Chicago, Cincinnati, San Francisco, and Baltimore. The only city in the Union in which the experiment has actually been tried is St. Louis, and there it was subsequently abandoned.

IS PROSTITUTION A NECESSITY ?

It will be observed that, in the Official Report of the Legislative Committee, it is assumed that "*houses of prostitution, doubtless, must exist, and will continue to exist ;*" and that the Grand Jury in their presentment refer to prostitution as an "*evil impossible to suppress, yet comparatively easy to regulate and circumscribe.*"

This assumption is the pivotal point of the whole matter. If a *necessity*, of course prostitution neither can nor ought to be eradicated. Has God so created and endowed men and women as to render prostitution an inherent human need ? *Such* a need is not merely to be recognized and tolerated, but intelligently and conscientiously

provided for. If prostitution is a necessity, children should be trained and educated for it. If a necessity—and it involves the sacrifice of women—no home is too sacred to furnish its offerings. The alleged necessity is not for women, but for men. If a necessity for men, a victim class of women is inevitable. Who shall supply it? What legislative “Regulationist” would willingly consign his own sister, wife, or daughter to such a sacrifice? If a necessity, *somebody’s* daughters *must* be despoiled, *somebody’s* home destroyed. Self-sacrifice is one of the noblest of the Christian attributes. Is it possible to conceive of the *Christian duty* of self-sacrifice, on the part of women, to meet the alleged necessity for prostitution with men? To ask is to answer the question. If such a duty were conceivable, then the most truly Christian women of the community are the ones whom our legislative “Regulationists” should designate and assign for the wretched service which they affirm it to be a necessity for *somebody* to render; prostitution should cease to be odious, and take its place as an honorable and an honored profession.

The assumption, when analyzed, that prostitu-

tion is a necessity, is in itself monstrous—at war alike with enlightened science and with true religion. The fact that it everywhere and inevitably begets physical disease and demoralization, and that, as the experience of European cities shows, it is an “irregularity” which defies sanitary “regulation,” is alone evidence, painful and positive, that it is wholly abnormal and in conflict with the Divine law.

WORKING OF THE LICENSE SYSTEM.

What the Legislative Committee and the Grand Jury recommend for New York and all the larger cities of the Empire State, Paris and other European cities have had in operation for many years. Paris has a department of Police organized with special reference to “regulating” prostitution, at the head of which is M. Lecour. With singular impropriety, it is called a “Bureau of Morals!” The working force employed in this immoral “Bureau of Morals,” consists of specially detailed police and a corps of medical *men*. It has under its control a special hospital and prison, St. Lazare, for the detention, medical inspection, treatment, and correction of women

prostitutes. The policemen are called special inspectors, most of whom are engaged outside in a general surveillance of women known to the authorities as prostitutes, and of those who may be *suspected* of clandestine prostitution. A few are occupied in the dispensary or hospital prison. The doctors are organized into a corps of examiners, whose duty it is to visit the licensed houses of prostitution, inspect the women who live in them, and who are registered and licensed as prostitutes, and all other women, virtuous or vicious, who may, on the bare *suspicion* of the police, be arrested and taken to the headquarters of the "Bureau of Morals" as clandestine prostitutes. To such arrest, and the personal outrage of such an examination, any unattended woman, falling under the suspicion of M. Lecour's policemen, is at any time exposed. All regularly licensed prostitutes are registered at the "Bureau of Morals." Such as live in houses of prostitution are subjected to weekly inspection by the doctors. Those who live in furnished lodgings are required to present themselves for medical inspection fortnightly. The latter class are furnished with cards, officially signed and dated, by

the surgeon of the "Bureau" at the time of each examination. On the backs of these cards are printed sundry rules and regulations to which the holders of them are required to conform ; one of which is, that they must show their cards whenever requested by police officers and agents ; another, that during daylight and certain hours mentioned, they are forbidden to solicit and allure for purposes of debauchery ; they are not to address men who are accompanied by women or children ; are to dress simply, and without ornamentation of the hair ; are not to form or walk together in groups, or to appear in the neighborhood of churches or chapels, or in other designated portions of the city, as in the Champs Elysées. Though these rules are circumvented and disregarded in many ways, it is undoubtedly true that offensive street solicitation on the part of prostitute women is less obtrusive than in London or New York ; and, also, that prostitute men presume to solicit unattended women with much greater boldness and freedom than in either London or New York, and as a natural consequence of the regulation system. By it the freedom of all women is restricted and men are

emboldened to sin with a supposed greater immunity from disease, and with the implied sanction of the State.

DOES THE LICENSE SYSTEM GIVE IMMUNITY FROM
DISEASE?

The only ground upon which the scheme for licensing prostitution here is, or is likely to be urged with any semblance of popular justification, is that of its alleged sanitary benefits. What, then, is the lesson of Paris in this respect? Does the absence from the streets of the most obtrusive forms of solicitation prove that there is therefore little prostitution in the French metropolis? One object of our Legislative Committee and Grand Jurors in recommending license and localization for New York, is to remove the evil as fully as possible from the notice of the general public. But would that insure, in any essential degree, immunity from the dreadful disease which prostitution engenders? Paris, which gives to prostitution, under its license system, a recognized, business status, regulated by "due process of law," has an enormous prostitute population. Says M. Lecour: "Keeping within the limits of

scrupulous moderation, we may estimate the population of Paris prostitutes, which is being incessantly renewed, at 30,000." He adds; "It must be distinctly understood that these figures apply to the women who, on account of their habitual debauchery, are a danger to the public health, rather than to those clandestine prostitutes (*en circulation*), and occupying themselves constantly in acts of allurements." Of course the value of any plan of registration and medical supervision, if it were possible to stamp out a disease and at the same time continue its producing cause, must depend upon its being applied to all. If any considerable number of diseased prostitutes, either women or men, are not duly registered, inspected, and treated, the public will remain exposed to infection, essentially as before. Of the 30,000 prostitute women, carefully estimated by M. Lecour, as dangerous to the public health, he succeeds in getting only about 4,000 on the register of his Bureau, and under police and medical supervision. In 1870 the total number was 3,656, *less than one-eighth* of the women whom he affirms to be given up to habitual debauchery, and a danger to the public health. Besides these,

are the thousands of clandestine prostitute women, who avoid the police, shun registration, and who are without any medical supervision or control. There are, also, the *men* who, as syphilitic propagandists, are wholly unregistered, and uncontrolled, and who consort with the 30,000 women whom M. Lecour regards as dangerous to the public health, and with the thousands of non-registered, uninspected, and clandestine women. If in Paris there are 30,000 prostitute women, there are, at least, as many prostitute men who consort with them. *They* are left wholly free to spread disease without limit. No woman ever does or can, as a prostitute, alone communicate syphilis to anybody. The guilty partner in her shame is always the special carrier and propagator of the disease. It is a marvel that anybody who pauses to reflect upon the subject could seriously expect a system which legalizes prostitution and dignifies it with an assured status, which subordinates women, and proffers immunity to men, to do other than increase prostitution on the one hand, and its accompanying fruition of disease on the other. Venereal disease, so far from being "stamped out" or controlled by the "regulation"

system in Paris, constitutes a large part of that which comes under hospital treatment. The venereal patients alone are nearly equal in number to the aggregate of all others under hospital treatment. M. Lecour states the number of hospital venereal patients for 1868 at about 9,500, with diseases of a grave character, and he adds: "Without fearing to be taxed with exaggeration, we may consider this number as representing the fifth part of the total number of venereal patients in Paris who are treated at home by medical men, or who apply for relief to druggists and quacks. We thus reach," says Lecour, "the number of 47,500, which, though formidable, is probably below the truth."

Not only does prostitution, despite the small number of prostitutes exhibited upon the official register, prevail to an appalling extent in Paris, under the regulation system, but disease is fearfully prevalent and continually increasing. It is a striking comment upon the futility, in a sanitary point of view, of police regulation and medical inspection that, during the past decade, M. Lecour's official record shows an increasing proportion of syphilitic cases among the registered

prostitutes, who are under the special care of the "Bureau of Morals," with its weekly medical inspection. During the first five years of this period, ending with 1869, the average ratio per 1,000 of registered prostitutes found syphilitic was found to be 106.953 ; and during the second period, ending with 1875, the average ratio reached 179.271. The failure of the Bureau of Morals to control or to prevent the increase of venereal disease, is admitted by French advocates of the "regulation system," of whom Dr. Jeannel is a distinguished representative ; but it is alleged to be due to inefficient administration, and not the fault of the system itself. But there has been, according to M. Lecour, no relaxation of vigilance on the part of the police ; but on the contrary, the arrests for clandestine prostitution have largely increased, until for the year 1875, the number of women thus arrested, imprisoned, and officially inspected, together with the 4,564 regularly registered, reached the enormous number of 14,515 ! Within the limits of this paper it is impracticable to present at length the official details, which proclaim alike the immorality and the inutility of the Paris regulation system. They

are given at length in an able, exhaustive, and thoroughly impartial article, which appeared in the *Westminster Review* for July, 1876, from the pen of Dr. Chapman, and from which we have quoted. They prove incontestibly the utter folly of attempting at the same time to perpetuate and control that which ought not to exist.

CRUELTY AND INJUSTICE OF THE SYSTEM.

The regulation system involves for women, especially working girls, poor and friendless, untold cruelty and injustice. Their dread of registration and its consequences leads not infrequently to results most distressing and tragical. Young girls arrested by the police, as *suspected* of prostitution, and subsequently shown to be innocent, have been driven to suicide by the sense of outrage and dishonor to which they had been subjected. Mrs. Butler, of Liverpool, a Christian woman whom God appears to have commissioned specially to lead in a righteous crusade against state regulated vice, and all social impurity—who is to the poor outcast victims of such vice what Elizabeth Fry was to the prisoner, or Florence Nightingale in the hospital—when in Paris visited

among the humblest of the people in the poor streets, and found most "painful examples of the cruel and crushing effects of this system on the very poor." There are young girls in St. Lazare whose only crime is "having no ostensible means of gaining a livelihood." They are, without hesitation, assumed by the police authorities, to be living by sin. One of the unfortunate girls of Paris said to Mrs. Butler, "Once in St. Lazare, and all is lost." Mrs. Butler visited St. Lazare, and saw the inmates, but was not allowed to converse with them. In a letter to a friend she says: "It was a sight to wring the heart of a woman—a mother! Most of them so very young, and some of them (go and see for yourself, and then you will know I am not exaggerating) so very sweet, so comely, so frank, so erect and graceful, in spite of the ugly prison dress." She adds "Well might Alexander Dumas exclaim: 'O, besotted nation, to turn all these lovely women who should be our companions in life's work, wives, and mothers, into *prostitutes*!'"

To entrap, arrest, and register these women is easy enough for the police, under the regulation code. So, also, the same machinery is sometimes

employed by vile persons to ensnare, by bearing false witness, poor girls whose ruin they thus seek to accomplish. Once on the register, to get off again is made well-nigh impossible to the poor and friendless. She must present her request to the office, give her abode and occupation ; “ she must bring forward some honorable person who will give a guarantee for her good conduct,” and besides this she must, for a period of three months, report once a week at the sanitary office, and submit herself to official medical inspection. “ The cancelling of the registration shall take place after the lapse of this period, if the conduct of the woman has always been regular.” Well may it be asked, “ But what hope is there for the poor child who, having no friends, none to claim or vouch for her, no means of subsistence, no place of abode, an orphan perhaps, friendless and poor, nevertheless, abhors the degradation of the prison-house of shame, remembers her God, her infancy, her former home, pines for freedom, and aspires to a regenerate life ? ” A more “ forlorn hope,” indeed, than that of the former American slave, even, who was the victim of a system fitly denounced as the “ sum of all villanies.” God forbid that there

shall be established in this and other American cities, a yet more damnable slavery in the form of "localized" and "legalized" prostitution!

REGULATION IN ENGLAND.

The regulation system was introduced in England under the title of the "Contagious Diseases Acts"—the first in 1864, next in 1866, and the last in 1869. They apply at present to certain garrison towns and military stations, and to a given area of adjacent territory, embracing a total of eighteen English and Irish towns. Under the very general title, their introduction and adoption by Parliament was managed so quietly and adroitly that their real import was known and comprehended only by a few regulationists, whose purpose it was to gain a legal foothold for the regulation of prostitution in connection with the army and navy, ostensibly for the benefit of the public service; and subsequently to extend the system throughout Great Britain. When it became more generally known that the apparently innocent "Contagious Diseases Acts" meant the Government supervision and regulation of prostitution, the attempt to provide for lustful indulgence on

the part of British soldiers and others in the districts under the Acts, by the registration and medical inspection of actual and "suspected" prostitutes, there was awakened an earnest agitation for repeal. Many hundreds of thousands of petitioners have asked Parliament for the unconditional repeal of these Acts. Once on the Statute-book, however, repeal is found to be a difficult task. The classes who unite to oppose repeal are the officials—the doctors and the police, who work the system, and who are reluctant to surrender place and power; the vicious class of prostitute men, who seek lustful indulgence, and who want to retain as their defense the Government patronage and implied sanction of prostitution, and their supposed greater immunity from disease; and abandoned prostitute women, who find that as "Queen's women," as they now style themselves, officially certified by Her Majesty's Government as free from infectious disease, they are more in demand, and can thus increase their gains. Some such are mentioned as having signed petitions to Parliament, prepared for them by the medical and police officials under whose supervision they were, praying that the Acts might be retained because their

repeal would be a calamity to themselves and a misfortune to the country at large !

The only serious claim which is urged for the retention and extention of the Acts is on the ground of alleged sanitary benefit. In character, they do not materially differ from the regulation system of Paris and other continental cities—in Germany, Belgium, Switzerland, and Italy. Registration, enforced inspection, and compulsory hospital detention for the diseased, are the chief features. Any woman suspected by the appointed policeman of being vicious, may, on the bare suspicion, be summoned to appear before a justice. He may order her to be subjected periodically to the outrage of an examination by a surgeon appointed for the purpose, or she may “voluntarily” submit to examination without going before the justice. This “voluntary submission” is, however, of the kind which prompted the frog to come out of the tea-kettle after a fire had been lighted under it.

It is claimed by “Regulationists,” that in the towns wherein the Acts are in force the number of prostitute women has been lessened, and that the average percentage of venereal diseases has

declined among the soldiers, as compared with other military stations not under the Acts. I cannot within the limits of this paper present a detailed statement of the figures, comparisons, and testimony before the Royal Commission, but as summarized and given in the *Westminster*, by Dr. Chapman, in the article before referred to, and corroborated by official testimony which I have examined, it appears that :

“ 1. The average annual ratio of admissions to hospital on account of primary venereal sores was lessening at ten out of the fourteen stations under the Acts before they became operative ; and in the course of definite periods, before they did so equal in length to the periods which have elapsed since the Acts were put in force, the average annual ratio of admissions at those ten stations *lessened 2.8 more rapidly* than it did during the corresponding period since the Acts were applied. At Windsor, where no basis for a comparison is afforded, there has been a positive rise in the ratio since the station was subjected to the Acts ; and only at three stations out of the whole fourteen was there a rise in the ratio before the Acts were applied and a fall afterward.

"2. During said years before the Acts were applied, the average ratio of admission on account of constitutional syphilis fell 7.95 ; but when the Acts came into force, the gradual improvement denoted by the figures was permanently arrested.

"3. The decline in the average ratio of admissions on account of blenorrhagia has been less rapid and less continuous since the Acts came into force than it was before, and during the three years ending with 1872, was 2.6 greater at the protected than at the unprotected stations."

It will be seen from this summary, which any one who chooses may fully verify, that as in Paris so in England, the regulation system, in its general results, is even worse than a failure, so far as its alleged sanitary benefits are concerned.

In the districts under the Acts, the official records show, as in Paris, a comparatively small, and a generally decreasing number of registered prostitutes and of houses of prostitution. This, by English Regulationists, is quoted as a proof that prostitution, in the aggregate, is diminished by the Acts. M. Lecour and other Frenchmen recognize the fact, however, that prostitution defies their control, and that while registered prostitutes de-

crease, clandestine prostitutes increase, and they accordingly call for still more absolute power over the persons of all single or suspected women. In England the districts under the operation of the Acts are surrounded by others in which the Acts are not operative. To these, women who refuse to register migrate, and there practice clandestine prostitution. What is an apparent advantage in numbers in one district is, therefore, counterbalanced in another. Referring to this phase of the subject, Dr. Chapman says: "According to Captain Harris' Report for 1875, on the operations of the Acts, during the six years ending last December, 7,304 of the total number who were registered are officially reported to have thus migrated. The same remark is applicable to brothel-keepers. 'Three brothel-keepers who were found to be harboring juvenile prostitutes, and permitting young girls to frequent their houses, closed their brothels and left the district on being cautioned by the police.' Of course a vast clearance of this kind from any district will be regarded as a boon by the 'respectable' inhabitants of it, and therefore we experience no difficulty in either crediting or appreciating the facts recorded in the

following extracts from Captain Harris' Report last mentioned :

“ ‘ In towns where the Acts are in force, the voice of the general public is strongly in their favor ; the opposition proceeds from persons . . . who reside in places distant from the scene of their operation.

“ ‘ Respectable persons, residing within a protected district, have been known to say that they would gladly pay a special rate for the maintenance of the Acts, so much do they contribute to the peace and quietness of a town.’ ”

“ But we should like to know what ‘ respectable persons’ residing in the towns outside the ‘ protected districts,’ and to which the 7,304 prostitutes in question, together with numerous brothel-keepers, migrated, have to say concerning this migration. We imagine that the small number of such persons who are duly acquainted with the nature and extent of it, take a view of it differing considerably from that entertained by ‘ respectable persons residing within a protected district,’ and by the officials who adduce it as evidence of the beneficial influence of the Acts. We imagine, too, that many ‘ respectable persons’ who reside in the outside districts, but who know nothing of the migration in question, have a vague, uncomfortable feeling that the number of ‘ disreputable’ women in their midst has largely increased, and that

evidences of sexual profligacy have lately become much more obtrusive than formerly. The fact that the application of the Contagious Diseases Acts has cleared the districts subject to them of some thousands of prostitutes, and of a large number of brothels, may be, and of course is, adduced as a strong argument in favor of those Acts, an argument which, as we are well aware, tells with convincing force on that large number of persons who take only a superficial view of the matter ; but, in fact, the social and physical evils produced in the districts outside and immediately adjoining those subject to the Acts are actually greater, and probably far greater, than those which are abolished within the 'protected districts' by the forced migrations in question."

Merely hiding from public view, or changing the locality of the great evil of prostitution, is a very poor equivalent for the shocking cruelty, the gross injustice, and the demoralizing and shameful governmental copartnership in iniquity which the regulation system involves.

John Stuart Mill, before the Royal Commission, objected strongly to the Acts as opposed to "the security of personal liberty." He said : "It ap-

pears to me that legislation of this sort takes away that security almost entirely from a particular class of women intentionally, but incidentally and unintentionally one may say, from all women whatever, inasmuch as it enables a woman to be apprehended by the police on suspicion and taken before a magistrate, and then by that magistrate she is liable to be confined for a term of imprisonment which may amount, I believe, to six months, for refusing to sign a declaration consenting to be examined." He adds: "We ought not to give powers liable to very great abuse, and easily abused, and then presume that those powers will not be abused."

That the arbitrary and irresponsible power over women conferred upon those who are charged with the execution of these Acts is abused, there is evidence only too abundant and painful. Working girls and unattended respectable women, married women of unquestioned respectability, under a great variety of circumstances, have been repeatedly subjected to great annoyance, inconvenience, and to positive danger and outrage, by official representatives of the Acts; and sometimes

by others, who, for evil purposes, have personated those officials.

A distinguished physician, for several years past a resident of London—Dr. Elizabeth Blackwell—well-known, and highly esteemed, and who has an intimate acquaintance with the subject, prophesies the repeal of the Acts in England, and says: “The public agitation of this question is one of the great events of the age.” She adds: “Any legislation which attempts to regulate evil without, at the same time, checking that evil, either directly or indirectly, educates the community in evil. The evil in this case is licentiousness (not prostitution), and the so-called Contagious Diseases Acts indirectly encourage licentiousness, and actively corrupt the moral sense of the community.

“All legislation applied to one sex only, in relation to an evil in which both sexes are concerned, is radically unjust; and unjust legislation is the profoundest immorality—the greatest crime that a government can commit against its people. Of the folly of this short-sighted legislation, which attempts to overturn immutable moral laws, we have a standing and flagrant example in the condition of France, whose medical advisers are sim-

ply in despair at the existing state of things in that country."

MRS. BUTLER—THE MORAL CRUSADE.

To Mrs. Josephine E. Butler, of Liverpool, whom I have already mentioned, is due more than to any one person besides, a debt of profound gratitude for the vigorous warfare now being waged against State regulated vice, not only in Great Britain, but also on the continent, in Switzerland, Italy and France. Mrs. Butler is the wife of a Liverpool clergyman, the Rev. George Butler, and the mother of devoted sons. She is a devoutly religious woman, of superior intellectual ability and culture. She is accepted, loved, and honored as the true leader of the movement to abolish Government regulation and sanction of prostitution. There are now at work in Great Britain numerous influential associations, embracing persons distinguished in Parliament, in the medical and clerical professions, and as philanthropists, urging the repeal of the "Contagious Diseases Acts," and promoting efforts for the abolition of Government regulation of prostitution on the continent. In 1875 Mrs. Butler paid a visit to the

continent and held conferences and organized committees in Switzerland and in Italy. She made an auspicious beginning in Paris, of what is now rapidly ripening into a very important movement for the abolition of legalized vice in the French metropolis. The authorities will not allow public meetings to discuss the subject, but on the occasion of a recent visit to Paris by Mrs. Butler and others, a technically "private" meeting was held, attended by 2,000 invited guests. The meeting was one of marked interest, and foreshadows important results in the future.

In Italy a powerful and thoroughly well-organized movement is the outgrowth of Mrs. Butler's visit. In Switzerland a vigorous, effective agitation is in progress which has already been productive of excellent practical results.

Zurich has published a decree abolishing the Regulation system, which, after reciting that "toleration gives rise to a fatal confusion of ideas;" that "a moral confusion no less fatal is produced among the *employés* and agents employed in the *moral*s police;" that "Zurich owes it to herself to watch over the interests of the young confided to her care;" that the existence

of tolerated houses "tends to foster and develop sensuality and to multiply the means of gratifying it;" that "the snare is all the more dangerous because presented under a false semblance of sanitary immunity;" and that "the opinion that tolerated houses are a preservative against contagious diseases is refuted by modern statistics," concludes with the declaration that "the system of official tolerance of prostitution is irreconcilable with the idea of the State as a moral power, with every sound principle of social economy, and is regarded with just reprobation by the conscience of the great majority of the people."

It would be inexcusable folly for us in America, at this late date in the nineteenth century, to adopt an immoral, suicidal system which the old world, in the light of bitter experience, is, at last, rising up against, and has already begun to discard.

We owe a large debt of gratitude to the "British, Continental, and General Federation for the Abolition of Government Regulation of Prostitution," for sending in 1876 to this country a deputation—Messrs. Henry J. Wilson and the Rev. J. P. Gledstone—to warn us of impending danger

here, and to awaken us to a sense of Christian obligation and duty to join in the holy crusade against legalized vice and immorality, the organized iniquity and oppression of other lands. The visit of those gentlemen was most opportune, and their eminent fitness for their mission was fully attested and approved by the quality and efficiency of their labors. They laid successfully the foundations of a preventive movement which, I trust, will forestall all vicious schemes of State regulation here, and presently be prepared to extend practical sympathy and encouragement to the heroic, Christian women and men who are laboring in the "new abolitionists'" movement abroad.

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE.

The movement against State regulation of vice has now reached* such proportions as to render it both desirable and practicable to hold an International Conference to give it unity and increased strength. Such a conference has been summoned by the "British, Continental, and General Federation for the Abolition of Government Regulation of Prostitution," to meet in Geneva in

September, 1877, at which it is earnestly desired that representatives from America should be present. Dr. Jeannel and other French advocates of the regulation system are urging the importance, in view of the inter-communication between nations, that there should be an international system of regulation and medical inspection, that "international arrangements be made by concert among the governments, so that no ship may be permitted to enter or leave any of the ports of the world without a full inspection of the crew," etc. This concerns our own country. Committed already to this international scheme of regulation, as the American allies of Dr. Jeannel, are such well-known medical men as Dr. Sims, of this city, to whom I have already referred, Dr. Gross, of Philadelphia, and such others as they may represent. For our own protection, therefore, and to lend our co-operation in the abolition movement for the overthrow of a gigantic, iniquitous, old-world system of sensua slavery for women and degradation for men, we are now called upon to enlist heartily and earnestly in the righteous, "irrepressible conflict." While womanhood may be dishonored and sub-

ordinated, and women practically enslaved by the strong arm of despotic old-world governments, to afford supposed guarantees against loathsome disease, semi-respectability and enlarged opportunities for licentious men, womanhood, especially among the poor and lowly, in America, and the general public morality, will be imperilled.

THE SOCIAL PROBLEM AND ITS TREATMENT.

Regulated or unregulated prostitution, as involving both sexes, is an evil of immense magnitude. It may well challenge the thoughtful consideration of the students of social science, of political economists, of Christian philanthropists. On no account must the State give to prostitution, through any scheme of localization or toleration, even an implied sanction or legal status, or deal with it other than as a crime for men, who buy and solicit, as well as for wanton women. Law is in itself an educator, and its lesson should in nowise be one of license for iniquity. For the unhappy victims of the diseases begotten of sin, wretched themselves, and dangerous to others, there should be afforded ample hospital facilities.

After all has been done which can be to erad-

icate the disease which is the inevitable accompaniment of prostitution, and to reclaim and rehabilitate its present victims, the major part of the important problem remains still to be solved. It is the preventive. *No solution is possible except upon the basis of an equal standard of morality for men and women.* If prostitution is a necessity for men, it is honorable for women. It is neither a necessity for men nor honorable for women. Children should be taught the true function of sex, and the sacred obligations which pertain to true marriage and parentage. Young men should be admonished that there is not for them, more than for their sisters, any proper season for "sowing wild oats." Older men should aspire to a higher type of manhood than that which worships at the shrine of undisciplined desire and ignoble passion. For women generally there should be enlarged and equal opportunities, especially industrial, educational, and political, that vicious men may less readily take advantage of their helplessness and necessities. In this mission for the uplifting of humanity, parents, teachers, enlightened scientists, physicians, and Christian ministers, one and all, should bear a part.

Labor thus intelligently and conscientiously bestowed cannot fail of a beneficent fruition. So long has the sinning man been condoned, and the sinning woman condemned, that to *unlearn* the grievous traditional lesson of moral inequality, as between the two, is the first, and to society at large, not an easy duty. With faith in the capacity of the human soul, and in the Grace of God, to the erring woman we must be able to say :

“ Oh, wronged and scarred and stained with ill,
Behold, thou art a woman still ! ”

II.

REGULATION EFFORTS IN AMERICA.

AMERICA at present has no avowedly legalized, or State regulated prostitution. It has had a single noteworthy experiment of license, in the city of St. Louis, which covered a period of about four years, and was then abandoned. It is not, however, without advocates of regulation. Within the past decade they have made vigorous, but thus far unsuccessful efforts to introduce government regulation of prostitution, with police and medical supervision in the larger cities, including New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, Cincinnati, Washington, Baltimore, Pittsburgh, and San Francisco. The considerations urged are chiefly economic and sanitary; that license would yield to the State revenue for hospital and other purposes, and that official surveillance and medical inspection of prostitutes would promote and protect the public

health. Property owners, some of whom would "localize" prostitution to relieve their own estates from the depreciating influence of a "bad neighborhood;" others who reap large harvests of rent from houses used for social vice, and sanitarians, chiefly associated with Boards of Health, are the most urgent and active in pressing the regulation system. The subject, as a matter of public discussion, is generally treated with reserve. The medical and sanitary advocates of regulation disclaim any immoral purpose.

NEW YORK.

New York, the chief American city, largely cosmopolitan in the nativity and character of its population, was the earliest, as, from its relation to other cities and the country at large, it is the most important, field selected by Regulationists for the introduction of the license system.

In 1867, in the Assembly of the New York Legislature, a resolution was adopted requiring the Metropolitan Boards of Police and Health to furnish that body with "their opinion as to the necessity and the probable result of legislation looking to the more thorough restriction of pro-

titution in the city of New York." This resolution was referred to the "Sanitary Committee" of the Metropolitan Board of Health. This Committee made an extended report, which was approved by the Board, and transmitted to the Legislature. The report proposed :

1st. That all hospitals and dispensaries which receive pecuniary aid from the State shall be obliged to treat venereal diseases.

2d. That all keepers of houses of prostitution and assignation shall be registered.

3d. That when any woman gains admission she shall be at once reported to the police.

4th. That a hospital shall be established for prostitutes.

5th. That the houses and persons of all prostitutes shall be inspected.

The object of these suggestions was stated to be the eradication of the venereal disease. The report recognized the fact that "to speak of prostitution and the diseases resulting from it, and especially to treat these diseases, and subject the wretched women who pursue this occupation to police and medical surveillance, in hopes of eradicating their disease, is at first sight revolting, and

has always met with opposition ; ” that “ no one can revive the subject without wounding the sensibilities of many worthy persons ; ” but that venereal disease should be dealt with as the cholera, and crushed out in its origin. To that end registration and inspection of prostitutes is recommended ; also the registration of all keepers and owners of houses of prostitution and assignation. Any woman admitted to a house of prostitution to be reported to the police, “ and the police shall not allow such woman to remain in such house unless she is a registered prostitute.” The deterrent advantages of registration are dwelt upon, especially as affecting girls and young women, though “ the books which contain the names of registered housekeepers and prostitutes should never be open for public inspection, because the peace of many respectable families would be destroyed by the secrets contained in them.” It is suggested that “ the greater freedom from disease, caused by the early medical care given to the prostitutes, might lead the depraved to prefer them to all other women,” at any rate, “ to lessen the demand for the women who frequent the houses of assignation to practise debauchery secretly.” It is

also suggested that the Legislature provide the means to carry out the regulation measures and to "enable the police to compel obedience in case of resistance."

In 1868 an unsuccessful effort was made in the State Legislature to pass a bill for the city of New York, embodying the main features of this report. In 1871 the effort was renewed, and a bill, with little discussion, passed both branches of the Legislature. The Governor did not interpose his official veto, but allowed the bill to expire by "limitation," without his official approval, which amounted practically to a veto, and thus a second time the efforts of the Regulationists failed. A few philanthropists, opposed alike to "regulated" and "unregulated" prostitution, and solicitous especially for the rights and freedom of women, among the most active and influential of whom were Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony and Lydia Mott, vigorously opposed, before legislative committees, by public addresses or personal appeals, these preliminary regulation efforts, and contributed largely to their defeat.

In 1875 the New York State Assembly ap-

pointed a Special Committee to investigate the causes of the increase of crime in the city of New York. This Legislative Committee, after a prolonged investigation, made an official report, a conspicuous feature of which was a recommendation to license prostitution. They assumed the necessity of prostitution, that it must and will continue to exist, found houses of prostitution "in some of the most fashionable and respectable quarters," and that some of the buildings which are let and occupied as low dens "are owned by highly reputable people, some of them pillars of the Church and State." They proposed that the houses be "located;" that the keepers "be required to remain in certain localities;" that keepers of houses, and prostitutes, should be provided with "permits;" that these should be forfeited for non-compliance with the specified regulations; that both should be under police control, and the latter under medical supervision.

It is understood that a bill was prepared embodying the propositions of the committee to license and "localize," prostitution, intended for the Legislature of 1876; but that it was finally decided by the Regulationists interested in its

success that it would be premature to introduce it then, and it was therefore withheld.

When the Legislative Committee's Report appeared in the New York journals a memorial to the Legislature was promptly prepared, and copies circulated for signatures and forwarded to Senators and Members of the Assembly by opponents of license, protesting against the proposed action to legalize prostitution. The memorial was as follows :

To the Senate and Assembly of the State of New York:

Your memorialists, residents and citizens of the City and State of New York, have learned with much regret and apprehension of the official recommendation by the Committee on Crime to your honorable body to enact laws "regulating," "permitting," or "licensing " prostitution. We respectfully but earnestly represent that prostitution is condemned as an unmitigated evil by enlightened science and by Divine law ; that nothing which is morally wrong either needs or should receive the sanction of the State ; that experience abroad has abundantly demonstrated the failure of licensing prostitution as an alleged sanitary measure ; that with a large population

of prostitute women and men, only a relatively small number of women are licensed and subjected to medical inspection, and diseased men are neither inspected nor restrained ; that the proposed governmental inspection can be of no general value only as applied impartially to men and women alike ; that laws licensing prostitution are as readily ignored and perverted by an indifferent or corrupt police, and as easily evaded by the evil-minded as those which declare it to be unlawful and criminal ; that such laws are especially liable to gross abuse and injustice towards women ; that women, as a class, ask for no such legislation, but generally abhor and oppose it ; that as prostitution, so theft and murder prevail, and have long abounded, but they are not, therefore, to be " regulated " by State ordinances as to times and places, where, by the payment of " fees " and under government supervision, thefts and murder may be committed ; that it is wrong for the State to license immorality, and thereby in effect to say to its citizens, " You may sin with impunity ; " that licensed prostitution is opposed to the sanctity of marriage and to the Gospel

injunction to "sin no more" and to "overcome evil."

We therefore pray that you will enact no law giving to prostitution legal status and guaranteeing to it the protection of the State, but that you will provide by adequate penalties for its effectual restraint and abolition as a hideous immorality and crime.

This memorial, signed and approved by many good citizens, and a kindred memorial from the "Moral Education Society of New York," served to delay and to discourage action by the Legislature.

In May, 1876, in connection with a visit from a deputation, Henry J. Wilson Esq., and the Rev. J. P. Gledstone, representing the "British, Continental, and General Federation for the Abolition of Government Regulation of Prostitution," a New York Committee for the prevention of licensed prostitution was formed, with Mrs. Abby Hopper Gibbons, as president; Emily Blackwell, M. D., Mr. W. H. Hussey, Anna Lukens, M. D., and Mr. Aaron M. Powell, vice-presidents; Mrs. Cornelia C. Hussey and Mrs. Anna Rice Powell, secretaries, and Mrs. Elizabeth Gay, treasurer.

The renewed activity of the regulationists rendered important the formation of such a committee for systematic and effective work.

In June, while the deputation from the Federation were in the city, and immediately after the formation of the New York Committee, the Grand Jury of the Court of General Sessions for the city and county of New York, made an official presentment to the Court, representing the prevalence of prostitution, and, assuming that while impossible to suppress, it might be easily circumscribed and regulated, and suggesting legislation to this end. The Grand Jury's presentment concluded with the following resolution as a petition from the Court to the Legislature of 1876-7 :

Resolved, That the Legislature of the State of New York be earnestly requested to adopt as early as practicable some system of laws calculated to confine houses of prostitution in the large cities of this State within certain specified limits, and to subject them at all times to the careful and vigilant supervision of the Boards of Health and Police.

The New York Committee for the Prevention of Licensed Prostitution, early in the session of

the Legislature, addressed an appeal to each senator and member of Assembly, accompanied with documents showing the inutility and immorality of State regulated vice, and protesting against the legislation proposed by the Legislative Committee on Crime and by the Grand Jury of New York. This appeal was as follows :

NEW YORK, February 9, 1877.

GENTLEMEN OF THE LEGISLATURE :

We understand that, in accordance with the recommendation of the Legislative Committee on Crime of 1875, and of the Grand Jury of the Court of General Sessions of this City and County of June last, an effort is to be made to secure such legislation concerning prostitution as shall provide for its legal toleration and regulation, with medical inspection and police supervision of prostitutes, under the direction of the Board of Health, by amendment of the law authorizing and governing that body.

We should greatly deprecate such legislation, and we earnestly ask that, if it be proposed, under whatever guise, sanitary or otherwise, you will oppose it by voice and vote.

Prostitution is in every sense evil—a crime to be abated, not legalized.

The experience of European cities has abundantly demonstrated that governmental supervision of prostitution, under a regulation or license system, has fostered and increased the evil, and that, with respect to alleged sanitary benefits, it is a signal failure. In illustration of this we invite your careful attention to the important, well-authenticated facts sent herewith.

Furthermore, laws “regulating” or “licensing” prostitution are especially liable to gross abuse and injustice towards women. Women as a class are opposed to and abhor them. They are also misleading and deceptive to men, who are falsely assured by them that they may sin with impunity. Thus the evil is magnified, and disease and demoralization are fostered by laws which are an abuse of the true function of government.

Though other attempts to license and legalize prostitution have from time to time been made elsewhere, the experiment in this country has been tried only in the city of St. Louis. There it wrought only evil, shocked the moral sense of all

good citizens, men and women, and was speedily abandoned.

We beg that you will scrutinize with great caution the phraseology of any proposed amendment to enlarge the powers of the Board of Health of this city which, while seeming to be innocent and well-intended, may be subsequently so construed as to authorize a scheme of licensed prostitution, with medical and police control.

Remembering your own mothers, wives, sons, and daughters, we implore you to sanction no legislation which will imperil the purity of the home, the sanctity of marriage, and the safety of the wives, daughters, and sons of others.

Beside the action of the New York Committee for the Prevention of Licensed Prostitution, the New York Yearly Meetings of Women Friends appointed a deputation to wait upon the Legislature and present the following remonstrance :

REMONSTRANCE.

In view of the bill for legalizing prostitution, to be presented to the Legislature of our State, we would respectfully and earnestly enter our protest against its passage.

We believe that it is opposed to the requisites

of the Gospel, and to the honor and safety of the manners and morals of the community, and therefore pray that no such law may ever be enacted.

We appoint Ruth S. Murray and Caroline Ladd our committee to present this remonstrance to the Senate and Assembly of New York.

Though thus far the Regulationists have been unsuccessful in their efforts to secure Legislative authority for license, police and medical supervision of prostitutes in New York, they have not abandoned their purpose. A fresh recommendation of licensed prostitution has recently been made public (August, 1877), embodied in the Annual Report of the New York "Commissioners of Public Charities and Correction" for 1876, addressed to the Mayor of the city. After discussing at length the subject of prostitution, and the prevalence of syphilis, the report says :

"There appear to be only two ways of meeting the exigencies of the case, although they may be accompanied with utterance of pain by the moral portion of society, and they are :

"1. That all known places of prostitution shall be legally visited by duly appointed physicians at stated intervals, who shall examine all the inmates,

and immediately cause the removal of those tainted with syphilis or gonorrhœa.

“2. The erection of a hospital where only venereal cases are treated, and where subjects found in houses of prostitution shall be detained until entirely cured.”

It adds :

“Although this system would induce the countenancing of brothels, it would certainly restrain the propagation of syphilis, and become ultimately a boon to society. While we all acknowledge that, to license immorality, and to give it legal countenance, is a step no one sanctions except as a necessary evil, we ought not to forget the other side of the question,—the inability of any government to entirely suppress the public sexual vice without introducing it into the home of the morally innocent. Besides, the erection of a hospital of this kind could also receive the numerous cases of venereal diseases which crowd our charitable hospitals, and which are a source of great annoyance in the proper management of the latter, on account of the evil influence the depraved poor have on the worthy poor that labor under other afflictions of the body.”

The chief American city, sometimes designated as the "Paris of America," must never be permitted to repeat the cruel and demoralizing Parisian method of legalizing and fostering social vice.

ST. LOUIS.

In St. Louis the battle has been fought and a victory won on the side of the opponents of license. In 1870 the license system was inaugurated in that city. The authority conferred was obtained by a legislative trick, the interpolation, without debate, of the two words, "or regulate," into an amendment of the city charter, intended, as was generally supposed, to suppress prostitution. The legal effect of the amendment, as was subsequently decided by the Supreme Court of the State of Missouri, was to repeal all State laws prohibiting prostitution, so far as St. Louis was concerned, and to give to it a business status as a legitimate industry. A German municipal office-holder was deputed to visit Europe, to familiarize himself with regulation laws there. An ordinance was subsequently adopted, requiring the registry of prostitute women. The city was divided into six districts, with one medi-

cal examiner to each. The salaries of the examiners were from twelve hundred to twenty-five hundred dollars per annum. Each examiner was required to visit the houses and apartments of prostitutes, to make inquiries, and, *if he thought necessary*, physical examinations. He was to give such sanitary directions as he might deem best, to render prostitution safe, and to order any of the prostitutes to be removed to the hospital whose condition, in his opinion, required it. The keepers of licensed houses were required to pay a tax of ten dollars a month, and one dollar a week for each prostitute therein; each prostitute fifty cents a week. Each registered prostitute therefore paid about twenty-six dollars a year, and each keeper of a brothel an average of about three hundred dollars a year. As compared with the French system, the St. Louis experiment differed in appointing but a single examiner to visit, unattended, prostitute women and girls in their own houses and apartments, and then to make physical examinations, or not, at his own discretion. It is not at all surprising that the experiment excited moral indignation and disgust on the part of good citizens, men and women, and that, so far

as sanitary results were concerned, it should end in a disgraceful failure. The Regulationists of St. Louis, connected with its Board of Health, attempted to show by the figures of the earlier registrations, made at intervals of a few months, a diminution in the number of prostitutes in the city ; but, says Dr. William G. Eliot, President of Washington University, of St. Louis, "In fact they had scotched the snake, not killed it, and in all probability the number of prostitutes had not been diminished at all. To scatter a nest of hornets is a very different thing from its destruction." The sequel during the progress of the experiment proved an increase of 34 per cent in the number of brothels, and an increase in the number of registered women of more than 35 per cent. There was also an undoubted increase of clandestine prostitution. Concerning the sanitary aspect, Dr. Eliot says :

"What is still more startling, when the stamping out process is examined, it appears that while the number of diseased women under treatment in 1871 was 18 out of 480, or $3\frac{3}{4}$ per cent, it has risen now to an average of 40 out of 653, or over 6 per cent. Showing the remarkable fact—to which, how-

ever, we can find a parallel in Paris itself— that even among the registered and regularly-inspected prostitutes the hateful disease may increase ; a result which, though unexpected, ought not to surprise us so long as the male prostitutes are themselves exempt from medical inspection. But what shall we say of a sanitary system which is liable to such failure as this ? ”

How incomplete was the registration and of how little practical value, in a sanitary point of view, the system of medical inspection was, may be seen from the following significant figures presented by Dr. Eliot from the reports of the Chief of Police of St. Louis, for the years 1871 and 1872 respectively :

“ The year 1871, ending March 31, shows that out of 3,722 females arrested, 1,526 were prostitutes and 218 keepers of bawdy-houses (the Board of Health report of the same date shows 480 registered prostitutes and 99 keepers !), being a total of 1,744, or 46 per cent of all females arrested. The year 1872 shows that out of 3,187 females arrested, 2,613 were prostitutes and 71 keepers of houses, or a total of 2,684, being over 64 per cent of all females arrested, and an in-

crease of 940 prostitutes arrested or 18 per cent more than the previous year."

Dr. Edmund Andrews of Chicago, commenting upon the sanitary results of the St. Louis license law, in a late letter (August, 1877) writes :

"The authorities in St. Louis at the time of their effort made a show of a great diminution of venereal diseases in the hospitals and charity institutions *under their control*, after the license law went into operation.

Knowing that it is easy to make a delusive show by simply exerting a pressure through the head officers to keep out some cases, and to falsify the records of others by putting down complicated cases under other heads in the record, and omitting to enter the syphilitic part as well as by calling all doubtful cases by other names, I determined to enquire of an institution *not under their control*. I therefore got the statistics from the United States Marine Hospital there for nearly a year before and after the time when the license law went into effect. The result was that the Marine Hospital of St. Louis showed an actual increase of the percentage of venereal diseases among its patients when the license system went into operation."

When it was discovered what had been accomplished by legislative legerdemain, that license for the social evil had actually been inaugurated, much indignation was aroused and a vigorous agitation for repeal began under the able and influential leadership of Dr. Eliot, whose contributions to the St. Louis press, and otherwise, not only served powerfully to aid the end for which they were designed in St. Louis, but to educate and enlighten public opinion in other localities upon the important subject.

Dr. Eliot was ably seconded by Lieut.-Governor Charles P. Johnson, who made an effective speech during the progress of the Senate debate in favor of repeal. A petition for repeal was signed by four thousand women of St. Louis, and presented to the Missouri Legislature. The archbishop, bishop and Catholic clergy, nearly all the Protestant clergy, and a majority of the St. Louis Bar were enlisted in the cause of repeal. A petition was also signed by over a hundred and fifty physicians and lawyers. The Legislature of 1873-4, after a prolonged and embittered discussion, finally voted the repeal by a vote of three-fourths of all the members of the Senate, and in

the House by ninety to one. Thus ended the license experiment in St. Louis, after having been in operation about four years.

Since the repeal was effected unsuccessful efforts to re-establish license have been made by the discomfited regulationists. In 1876 thirteen "Freeholders" of St. Louis were appointed to prepare a new charter for the city. An earnest attempt was made to engraft a license proviso upon this charter, but the proposition was defeated by a vote of nine to four. The new charter was adopted by a majority vote of the citizens of St. Louis, in July, 1876, and with its adoption the former prohibitory provisions of the State laws against prostitution, and against letting houses for use as brothels, were revived and are again in force in the city.

Not satisfied to abide by their defeat in a fair and open contest, the regulationists made still another effort, in January, 1877, to override the wishes of the majority of good citizens, and to re-establish license in St. Louis, by special act of the Legislature. But a proviso of the new city charter in relation to special legislation, requiring that "every proposal for amendment must be sub-

mitted by the law-making authorities of the city to the qualified voters thereof at a general or special election, held at least sixty days after the publication of such proposals, and accepted by at least three-fifths of the qualified voters voting thereat,"—caused their defeat, and it is hoped and believed has now put the question in St. Louis definitely at rest.

CHICAGO.

In 1870 and 1871 vigorous efforts were made to introduce the regulation system in Chicago. The attempt met with vigorous opposition, especially on the part of women. Among the most active were Mrs. Caroline J. Corbin, Mrs. K. N. Doggett, and Mrs. Elizabeth Gay, then a resident of Chicago. The "Social Purity Society" appointed a special committee with the Rev. L. T. Chamberlin as chairman, which rendered important service in preventing action by the City Council. About three years later, in 1873-4, certain physicians again revived the effort to secure regulation. But the good seed previously sown by the opponents of regulation had prepared the public to meet with vigorous resistance the renewal of

the license scheme. Dr. Andrews, a leading physician of Chicago, through a very able pamphlet, "Prostitution and its Sanitary Management," embodying the results of careful scientific and statistical study of the subject, both in Europe and at home, dealt a powerful blow against regulation, not only in Chicago, but also in other American cities wherein kindred efforts were being made to introduce it at about the same time. The best portion of the citizens were thoroughly aroused. The city was canvassed by squares with petitions and thousands of signatures were obtained, protesting against the proposed regulation scheme. While the agitation was in progress, the Illinois Legislature being then in session at Springfield, the following bill to prohibit the licensing of houses was prepared, introduced, and passed, thus rendering the scheme of the Chicago regulationists unlawful, and protecting that and all other cities and towns in the State against any future kindred efforts:

THE ILLINOIS LAW.

"Sec. 1. Be it enacted by the State of Illinois, represented in the General Assembly, that it shall

be unlawful for the corporate authorities of any city, town or village in this State to grant a license to any person, male or female, to keep what is known as a house of ill-fame or house of prostitution ; and it shall be unlawful for any Board of Health (or any member or employee of the same) now existing, or which may hereafter exist, under the laws of this State, to interfere in the management of any house of ill-fame or house of prostitution, or to provide in any manner for the medical inspection or examination of any inmate of the same.

“ Sec. 2. Whereas, the legislative authorities of certain cities in this State are about to license houses of ill-fame, therefore an emergency exists why this Act should take effect immediately. Therefore, this Act shall take effect and be in force from and after its passage. Yeas, 115 ; Nays, 6.”

March 27, 1874.

The following was also enacted concerning the keepers and patrons of disorderly houses :

DISORDERLY HOUSES.

“ Sec. 57. Whoever keeps or maintains a house

of ill-fame or place for the practice of prostitution or lewdness, or *whocver patronizes the same*, or rents any house, room, or other premises for any such purpose, or shall keep a common, ill-governed or disorderly house, to the encouragement of idleness, gaming, drinking, fornication, or other misbehavior, shall be fined not exceeding two hundred dollars. When the lessee of a dwelling-house or other building is convicted under this section the lease or contract for letting the premises shall, at the option of the lessor, become void ; and the lessor may have the like remedy to recover the possession as against a tenant holding over after the expiration of his term."

The regulationists of Chicago have, for the present, expended their full force and exhausted their opportunity. The moral convictions of the majority, and the statutes of the State, have pronounced against them.

PHILADELPHIA.

In 1874 an effort was made in the legislature of Pennsylvania to secure the passage of a bill to license prostitution in Philadelphia and other cities of that State. A bill was introduced by Dr.

A. L. Cressler, a member of the House of Representatives, entitled "An Act to provide for the decrease of a Social Evil, and for the better government of cities in relation to Houses of Ill-Fame." The bill provided for the registration of prostitutes and of houses used for prostitution, and the medical inspection of prostitutes; empowered Boards of Police Commissioners, or other officers appointed by City Councils, to issue permits to prostitutes, and to keepers of houses of prostitution and assignation; and from the revenue derived from examination fees and hospital dues to establish and maintain an Industrial Hospital for the confinement and medication of prostitutes under the joint direction of the Boards of Health and Police. As soon as the introduction of the bill became known, Dr. Harriet S. French, president of the "Moral Education Society," of Philadelphia, Mr. and Mrs. Enoch Lewis, Dr. Morton and other opponents of the license system commenced a vigorous and effective agitation in opposition to the proposed legislation. The following memorial was addressed to the legislature bearing the signatures of over fifty well-known physicians, including some of the most eminent

and influential in the city of Philadelphia and vicinity :

“PROTEST AGAINST HOUSE BILL 88, FOR LICENSING
PROSTITUTION IN PENNSYLVANIA.

*“ To Hon. Senators and Representatives of the
Commonwealth of Pennsylvania :*

“ WE, the undersigned, Physicians and Surgeons of Philadelphia, members of the College of Physicians, County Medical Society, etc., etc., earnestly protest against license, or any sanction by law, *of prostitution*, as a concession to evil for which there is no excuse, a system to which France gave birth in its worst days of misrule, and which M. Lecour, chief of police, the man responsible for carrying out this system in Paris, declares to have increased instead of diminishing the evil. The view of society from which such laws can proceed is low and sensual, entirely inconsistent with the maintenance of social virtue and truth. There is neither physical nor social necessity for men or women to yield themselves to a life of evil ; and all law should tend to save them from such a fate. Nor is there any excuse for discrimination in favour of the strong against the weak, by setting

apart, under sanction of law, a class of women who are to be held as the instruments of the legalized lust of habitually profligate men. The welfare of society demands that all men should be held amenable to the same standard of morals as is required of women. Therefore, we do protest against any recognition of the false and demoralizing claim, that this most destructive of vices and crimes is a necessity. We affirm that the evil is a moral and social one, and must be overcome by moral, not legislative means. The battle, to be victorious, must be fought with the weapons of pure moral principles."

Protests were also sent from the Moral Education Society, and from a Methodist Episcopal Church Conference, and petitions from many citizens in various portions of the State. The Moral Education Society issued a public warning against the license scheme. Anna E. Dickenson spoke with great power and effect against it. Mr. and Mrs. Lewis caused Dr. Eliot's St. Louis articles to be reprinted in pamphlet form and to be placed, together with the physicians' memorial, in the hands of each member of the Legislature. Thus the measure was defeated, and the city and the State

saved from the demoralization and disgrace. But Philadelphia is the home of Dr. Gross, the foremost of the American medical advocates of Regulation, and continued vigilance on the part of its opponents will be important.

WASHINGTON.

Simultaneous with the attempts already mentioned to introduce the regulation system in other cities, kindred efforts have been made in the District of Columbia, including Washington, the national capital, to secure its introduction there. The District of Columbia is under the immediate control of the Congress of the United States. Though not a commercial metropolis, like New York, Washington is a representative national city. The introduction of the regulation system in Washington would be an influential precedent for all other cities, in the several States of the Union. The Regulationists well-understand this, and have been on the alert to secure from Congress the necessary legislation to confer upon the Board of Health the requisite authority to introduce their scheme in the nation's capital. In 1870-71 they succeeded in obtaining the passage

of a "Sanitary Act" by both Houses of Congress without its real and intended purpose being apprehended by most of the Senators and Representatives who voted for it. Its true meaning was however exposed by earnest, conscientious and clear-sighted women, opposed to regulation. When, subsequently, the bill was amended to exclude venereal diseases and thus to leave the Health Board without the coveted power to regulate prostitution, it was, at the request of its authors, withdrawn! Another unsuccessful effort in behalf of regulation was made in connection with the local District Legislature, during the period of its existence. It was most persistently urged, and but for the heroic vigilance of Dr. Susan A. Edson, and others, would undoubtedly have been successful.

The latest effort of the Regulationists to achieve their object in Washington was through a bill introduced in the House of Representatives of the Forty-fourth Congress in 1876, to confer additional power upon the Board of Health of the District of Columbia, and in such terms as would include the regulation of prostitution as one of its legitimate functions. The bill (No 2440) contemplated among other things the enforcement of quarantine,

at the discretion of the Health Board against *passengers* of vessels, railroad cars, or other conveyances, "including all reasonable *inspections, detentions, and purifications*, to prevent the introduction and spread of *contagious* or infectious diseases in the District of Columbia, and to provide for the summary removal of persons," etc. It was provided also that the Health Board should have "the exclusive control and management of all hospitals, for the care and treatment of persons afflicted with small-pox *and other contagious and infectious diseases* in the District of Columbia," and power to provide "for the prevention, abatement, and removal of any other matter or thing, within said District, dangerous to human life or the public health." This effort to secure increased power on the part of the Board of Health was foreshadowed in the annual report of that body for 1875, which stated that "in a number of our principal cities ordinances have been enacted looking to the medical inspection of prostitutes," and referring to such legislation, said, "startling as it may be to a sensitive moral sense," it "has many powerful advocates among the thoughtful, wise, and philanthropic of the community." Among

these it designated "Dr. Gross of Philadelphia, than whom no higher sanitary authority exists." When publicly called to an account for this feature of their report, the Board disclaimed any purpose to encourage, or enforce license legislation.

The Moral Education Society of Washington, of which Dr. Caroline B. Winslow is president, addressed to the United States Senate and House of Representatives the following memorial :

MEMORIAL.

To the Senate and House of Representatives in Congress assembled :

Whereas, covert attempts have been made, and are still being made, to force upon the District of Columbia a system of licensing the trade in the bodies of women and girls, which system, we claim, is essentially immoral in its tendencies, inasmuch as it offers bounty to licentiousness in men, in that it proposes to protect them in vice, through regulations bearing only on women, and degrading to womanhood ; and, whereas, this system has been permitted in European cities through the neglect and sufferance of the people, rather than through their consent, and has not been able,

after long experience, under the most favorable circumstances, to show such results as to justify the experiment being made by our Government ; therefore, we, the undersigned citizens of the United States, pray your honorable body to make a careful examination of each clause of any sanitary bill, which may, under a false name, be presented for your consideration and designed to clothe a body of men with power to inaugurate and enforce such a system.

A committee of women of Washington, consisting of Dr. Winslow, Mrs. Senator Sargent, Mrs. S. S. Mitchell, Mrs. Annie A. Riddle, Mrs. R. W. Black, Mrs. E. T. Cowen, and Susan A. Edson, M. D., addressed an earnest appeal to the women of the District of Columbia and of the whole country, to use their influence to prevent the passage of the Health Board Bill, with its highly objectionable features. The timely and efficient efforts of these women and their associates were influential both with members of Congress and the general public, to defeat and discredit the proposed infamous legislation.

The New York Committee for the Prevention of Licensed Prostitution, while the Health Board

Bill was pending in the House of Representatives, also addressed a memorial to the Senate and House of Representatives, asking that they would "enact no law to permit the licensing or regulation of a hideous social vice and crime by authority of the Congress of the United States." Copies of this memorial were also circulated, influentially signed, and presented to Congress from different localities in other States.

The objectionable bill failed to become a law prior to the expiration of the Forty-fourth Congress on the fourth of March, 1877. The Regulationists of Washington, defeated in their several efforts, can hope to succeed in obtaining from the Congress of the United States the coveted power to introduce and enforce their regulation scheme only through covert measures and indirection, such as prevailed in the British Parliament.

An important effort is being made in Washington by Mrs. Sara J. Spencer, and an associate committee of ladies and gentlemen, to establish in the District of Columbia a Girls' Reform School, and a Home, wherein the unfortunate may find shelter, protection, kindly care and encourage-

ment for their reformation, and have the benefit of thorough industrial training.

OTHER CITIES.

In Baltimore, Maryland, efforts have been made to introduce the license system, one through the Grand Jury, which was thwarted by Francis T. King, a well-known citizen, and a member of the Society of Friends, familiar with the character of the regulation system in Great Britain and on the Continent. Another effort to establish license, and escape from frequent and troublesome interference by the police, was made by keepers of brothels, but this scheme was also frustrated by the timely interposition of good citizens. The latest effort for regulation is of recent date (April, 1877), in a meeting of the "Medical and Chirurgical Faculty of Maryland," wherein a resolution was offered and supported by its mover, that a committee of five be appointed to memorialize the next Legislature upon the propriety of placing public prostitution under sanitary control. The experience of European cities was cited to show that State regulation therein had been attended with highly beneficial results. The resolution was

vigorously and successfully opposed by Dr. J. Carey Thomas, also a member of the Society of Friends, who urged that the proposed regulation would be extremely harmful to public morality, that the practical working of the experiment in St. Louis had been to increase the social evil. After the discussion the resolution was tabled.

In Cincinnati, Ohio, in 1874, an attempt made in the Board of Aldermen, to establish a Regulation ordinance, was defeated by the prompt and efficient action of a committee of influential citizens, and by numerous petitions against the scheme.

In San Francisco, California, in 1871, an attempt made through the Legislature of the State to legalize prostitution was defeated, largely through the efforts of a woman, the wife of one of the members, who antagonized the proposition with a duplicate bill, which simply substituted the word *man* for *woman* in her bill. When the character of the first measure was thus exposed it was dropped by its movers, and failed to become a law.

Other minor efforts to introduce the Regulation system have been made during the last few years

in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, in Detroit, Michigan, in St. Paul, Minnesota, and in Denver, Colorado, but without success.

MASSACHUSETTS.

In the State of Massachusetts, a noteworthy step was taken by the Legislature of 1876 for the restraint and punishment of solicitation by male prostitutes. The full text of the new law is as follows :

AN ACT RELATING TO NIGHT-WALKERS.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives, in General Court assembled, and by the authority of the same as follows :

Any male person who, by night, frequents the streets, highways or public places, or who goes about or abroad with the intent to entice, allure or invite any one to illicit sexual intercourse, shall be deemed a common night-walker, and shall be punished in the same manner as those now deemed common night-walkers are punished by law.

Approved, April 6, 1876.

THE MEDICAL PROFESSION.

In the earlier, as in the later efforts to introduce the regulation system in America the leading public advocates have been and are of the medical profession. Urging the one point of the control of venereal disease as a sufficient justification for the proposed governmental sanction of vice, they ignore essentially the immorality of prostitution itself. Foremost among the public advocates of regulation in America is Dr. S. D. Gross, of Philadelphia. In 1874, in an address before the American Medical Association, at Detroit, Michigan,—an address remarkable both for the boldness with which it pronounces for legislation of the grossest immorality and injustice, and the logical weakness with which the propositions are supported, he discussed “Syphilis, in its relation to the National health.” A committee was subsequently appointed by the Association to report, “On proper legislation to prevent the spread of syphilis,” with “Dr. Samuel D. Gross, of Philadelphia, as chairman.” This committee, appointed in 1874, was expected to report at the meeting in 1875, but did not. It

was announced as expected to report at the meeting in Philadelphia in 1876, but again the report was not forthcoming. Nor was it made at the meeting for 1877.

It would appear that Dr. Gross finds it a difficult matter to suggest a code of legislation, on the basis of Government sanction of prostitution, in connection with the effort to control syphilis, which he would have any reasonable prospect of getting endorsed by the great body of American physicians. His difficulty is likely to increase from year to year by the larger number of earnest, intelligent, conscientious women, graduated as physicians and admitted to fellowship in the medical associations. Dr. Gross says distinctly: "But I am not waging war against prostitution. The object of the licensing law is not to prevent this evil but to arrest the spread of syphilis." He takes occasion also to commend the prostitute women of St. Louis, who, *as prostitutes*, under the ministration of the Regulationists of that city, while the license system was in vogue, "had been seeking the purer and better way, and had become so fully aware of the physical advantages arising out of the law, that not a few of them voluntarily sub-

jected themselves to inspection, at their own expense, after the abrogation of the ordinance." While advocating licensed prostitution as the remedy for venereal disease, Dr. Gross realizes the force of the public antipathy to such a proposition, and would have "great judgment and care" in "the selection of a proper title," that "license" be not made "too conspicuous." He says; "my opinion is that the entire subject should be brought in, as it has been in England, under the head of the 'Contagious Diseases Acts,' a phrase not likely to meet with serious opposition *as it would serve as a cloak* to much that would otherwise be distasteful to the public." He adds: "The word 'licensing' should not be used at all; 'regulate' would be better; but even this has its objections."

Dr. J. Marion Sims, of New York, next to Dr. Gross, is most pronounced in his advocacy of the regulation scheme. In an address as President of the American Medical Association, he took occasion publicly to endorse Dr. Gross, of whose address at Detroit, in 1874, he said it was "complete and exhaustive," and to commend him for having "the courage to recomment legislation to restrain the spread of syphilis."

The *Philadelphia Medical and Surgical Reporter*, and the New York *Medical Gazette* (not now published) have been outspoken advocates of regulation. As a class a large majority of American physicians, it is safe to say, will decline to follow the leadership of Doctors Gross and Sims in their advocacy of license and regulation. Women physicians will be essentially a unit against them.

PREVENTIVE WORK.

There is in America, as yet, no general organization, embracing the whole country, to oppose the Regulation efforts. In the localities where these efforts have been made sufficient preventive work has been voluntarily done by earnest, conscientious women and men to ensure their defeat. More efficient, and general organization is, however, a need of the present period. It is desirable not alone for preventive work in America, but to co-operate with the efforts for repeal and abolition in Great Britain and on the Continent. A visit to America in 1876 by a deputation from the British, Continental, and General Federation, Henry J. Wilson, Esq., and Rev. J. P. Gledstone, was most opportune and useful, and marked the beginning

of systematic and efficient labor to oppose the schemes of the Regulationists and to enlighten the public mind in relation to the danger involved to America, and as to what has been, and is being done in Europe both to perpetuate and to abolish Government regulation of prostitution. Important conferences were addressed by Messrs. Wilson and Gledstone in New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore and Washington, and Committees were organized in the several cities as the nucleus of future and more extended efforts.

THE INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS.

Regulation efforts in America owe their origin to European example and influence. The friends of social purity in America therefore hail with especial satisfaction the efforts for repeal and abolition in Great Britain and on the Continent, which have culminated in the holding of an International Congress. Regulationists project international measures to make the application of their scheme of "inspection and control" universal. They must be met and defeated at every point. The only normal remedy for the dread disease they claim to seek to conquer, is to be found not in the

regulation and perpetuation of prostitution, which inevitably begets the disease, but in efforts to lessen and abolish prostitution itself. To this end degraded manhood, outraged womanhood, purity of the home, and reverence for the Divine law should admonish all to labor.

III.

THE GENEVA CONGRESS.

ORIGIN OF THE CONGRESS.

IN the continental cities of Europe, government regulation of social vice has long been in vogue. In 1864 the Regulation system, under an act of Parliament bearing the ambiguous title of "Contagious Diseases Act," applying to sundry military districts, was introduced in Great Britain. As soon as the real import of this legislation became known, beyond the limited circle responsible for its introduction and consummation, it gave rise to a profound agitation for repeal. Foremost in this agitation, since that period, has been Mrs. Josephine E. Butler. Around her have rallied many noble women and men in Great Britain in the crusade, still in progress, against State sanctioned vice. In 1875 Mrs. Butler, supported by the sympathy and co-operation of English friends, undertook an important mission on the Continent,

chiefly in France, Switzerland, and Italy. Her reception in Paris was cold, and anything but encouraging, but her observation in the French capital of the practical workings of the regulation system there, served to render still more obvious the urgent need of reformation. In Switzerland she found more encouragement; and in Italy, in many cases, she was welcomed with enthusiasm. Out of this mission, as a preliminary preparation, grew the recent International Congress at Geneva, under the auspices of the "British, Continental, and General Federation for the Abolition of Government Regulation of Prostitution."

CHARACTER AND ORGANIZATION.

The attendance at the Congress was large and exceeded the anticipations of those by whom it was called. The delegates numbered five hundred and ten, representing Switzerland, France, Germany, Russia, Denmark, Poland, Belgium, Holland, Spain, Italy, Greece, England, Scotland, Ireland, and America. Among them were many, both women and men, distinguished for intelligence, scientific attainments and philanthropy. Among the Italian delegates were Dr. Bertani, an

eminent physician and member of the Italian Parliament, Signor Nathan, of Rome, an able journalist, and co-worker with Garibaldi, Mlle. Mozzoni, of Milan, and Professor Colona, of Salerno. From Italy came also a deputation representing 1,600 societies of workingmen. Spain was represented by Signor Zorrilla, formerly a leader of the Madrid Government. From Germany came Dr. Baur, a distinguished Court preacher, bearing a message of sympathy to the Congress from the Empress, also Pastor Instorp, of Pomerania. Among the delegates from France were the eloquent preacher, M. Préssensé, Dr. Gustave Monod, M. Desmoulins, a Paris journalist, M. Léon Richer, an earnest advocate of the enfranchisement of woman, Dr. John Chapman, author of the valuable *Westminster* articles, Mlle. Raoult, a working women, and founder of a "Women's Trades Union" in Paris, and M. Charles Lemonnier, a leading member of the Peace and Liberty League. Denmark was represented by a distinguished physician, Dr. Meyer. Madame Behrends, M. Nicholet, and M. Hutton were delegates from Belgium. Holland was ably represented by M. W. Van den Bergh, of the

Hague, and Pastor Pierson. The largest delegations were from Switzerland and Great Britain. Among the former were Prof. Amie Humbert, of Neuchatel, a man of distinguished position, and greatly gifted for the work of organization, Dr. De la Harpe, of Lausanne, an eminent physician, Pere Hyacinthe, as well known in this country as in Europe, Prof. Hornung, of Geneva, a distinguished jurist, the venerable Pastor Barel, and M. Sautter de Blonay, a retired gentleman. From Great Britain there were, beside Mrs. Butler, her husband, the Rev. George Butler, and their two sons, many of her most helpful allies and co-workers, including the Right Hon. James Stansfeld, M. P., formerly a member of Gladstone's Cabinet, and President of the General Federation, Sir Harcourt Johnstone, the leader of the Repeal movement in the House of Commons, Prof. James Stuart, of Cambridge, William Shaen, Esq., President, and Mr. and Mrs. F. C. Banks, secretaries of the National Repeal Association, London, Mr. Ashurst, of London, Henry J. Wilson, of Sheffield, one of the deputation to America in 1876, George Gillet, Esq., of London, Secretary of the Friend's Repeal Association, Mrs. Marga-

ret Lucas, of London, sister of John and Jacob Bright, Edward Backhouse, Esq., President of the Northern Counties League, Edmund Jones Esq., President of the Workingmen's Repeal Association, Dr. Nevins, President, and Mr. Burgess, of Liverpool, Secretary, of the National Medical Association, Henry Richard, M. P., of London, Dr. Carson, of Liverpool, P. W. Bunting, Esq., and Mrs. Sheldon Amos, of London, Miss Estlin, and Mrs. Russell Carpenter of Bristol, Mrs. Richardson, of York, Mr. R. F. Martineau, Rev. W. Wastell, and Mrs. Kenway, of Birmingham, Eliza Wigham, of Edinburgh, Miss Tod, of Belfast, Henry Allen, Esq., of Dublin, and others.

America was represented by Mrs. Julia Ward Howe, of Boston, Dr. Caroline B. Winslow, and A. C. Winslow, Esq., of Washington, and Mr. Powell, of New York.

The congress was organized, with Mr. Stansfeld as president, and divided into five bureaus or sections, with each a president, vice-president and secretary, and six additional members of different nationalities. These bureaus or sections were: 1. Hygiene, presided over by Dr. De la Harpe, of Lausanne; 2. Morals, presided over by

M. Sautter de Blonay ; 3. Social Economy, Prof. Dameth, of Geneva, president ; 4. Beneficence, Pastor Borel, of Geneva, a veteran in rescue work, president ; 5. Legislation, presided over by Prof. Hornung, of Geneva. Much of the laborious preliminary work of organization devolved upon Prof. Humbert, of Neuchatel, assisted by Prof. Stuart, of Cambridge, and Mrs. Butler.

PROCEEDINGS.

The opening proceedings, and the general meetings of the sections, were held in a large hall appropriately named the "Hall of the Reformation." The audiences at these meetings were large, intelligent and attentive, and included many who were not delegates. It is an unusual circumstance on the Continent for women to take part, as in this congress, in public deliberative gatherings. M. Laurent Karcher, president of the Geneva Reception Committee, made a brief address of welcome, in which he cordially greeted the delegates as having assembled there "in the course of a crusade against depravity, and against the infamous trade in unfortunate women, carried on under the patronage of governments." After

the delegations from different countries had been announced, and the organization ratified, brief addresses were made by Mr. Ashurst, of London, as representing the London City committee ; Signor Cevasco, who spoke for Italy ; Eliza Wigham, of Edinburgh, in behalf of the women of Great Britain ; Mr. Lishman, of England, in behalf of the Workingmen's Repeal Association ; and Mr. Powell, as from America.

Mr. Stansfeld, as president, subsequently made a formal opening address of marked ability, stating the objects and aims of the congress, and presenting the various aspects of the question, as represented by the several sections. He arraigned the regulation system as a failure hygienically, as well as wrong morally ; as oppressive to women, delusive to men, and inconsistent with the principles of enlightened jurisprudence. While he would join with the medical faculty for the cure of those diseases which demand care, even though born of vice, and also in preventing disease by methods which will not promote its cause, he would not have the medical profession degraded by becoming the servant of the lowest vice. Referring to the regulation system, he said : " These

laws are and deserve to be a hygienic failure, because those who invented them and those who have administered them were unable to see that no law which offends against human nature can be a hygienic success. Even where they are applied, these laws will always be evaded and therefore impotent. But they are far worse than a hygienic failure, they are an outrage against morality, justice, law itself ; and have been and will be, wheresoever they are retained, a cause among the nations of the ruin of liberty and law, of a general depravation of morals, and of an equal physical degradation and emasculation of our race. They bring us back to the vices, the *decadence* of the Lower Empire. There is no nation in the world's history which has given itself up to sexual vice without becoming enslaved, or disappearing off the face of the earth, as if at the breath of God.

“ I appeal against these laws to all friends of liberty, of justice, and of equality ; I appeal to the jurist to support the dignity of the law ; to the hygienist to rise to the true hygienic level and refuse to sanction laws which, by depraving the morals of the people, prepare the way for their physical degeneration. I appeal to the legislator, because

he ought to know that every law has an educational influence for good or evil, and that this influence ought at least to lean to the side of virtue ; that no law is ever superior in its action and effect to its source and aim ; and that the aim of these laws is, not to diminish vice, but to render it physically harmless. I appeal to the moralist against systems which deny the possibility of virtue ; I appeal to the philosopher and I appeal at the same time to the believer, because both faith and science teach us the Unity of the law that governs human life, and reject the idea that a law which sins against liberty, against all respect for humanity, however feeble and fallen, and against morality, can be a truly hygienic law or ever crowned with success ; I appeal to Man, to all that is generous and courageous in man, not to soil his hands with this cruel and cowardly injustice towards the weaker sex."

His closing appeal was to women. He said : "I have always maintained the right, the chief right of women to be heard on this question. It is their right, it is more, it is their duty. We men may aid them, but only in the second rank, for it is, above all, a woman's question. The evil we

attack is the very existence of prostitution ; we cannot succeed in this work so long as women leave their own part undone. 'The existence of the legalized, sanctioned, regulated prostitution of women, in order to satisfy men's ignoble desires, would be, not only an indignity, it would be a shame to women if they were not to resist it, to protest against it. I rejoice that there are those amongst them who do this, and I revere them for it. But woman, as a sex, as a class, has not yet risen to the level which her very sex demands from her. Many women shrink from this subject because of its horrors : let them, too, learn to bear this cross. Let them resist, as an outrage against their whole sex, the outrage inflicted upon these unhappy ones, the most degraded of their sisters ! Let them study history and its lessons of providential progress. The cause of justice triumphs in this world when classes, nations, races feel the instinct of individual sacrifice for the common aim—their emancipation, their rights. Let woman call to her aid such fortitude, such faith. To her I address my final appeal that she will acknowledge the duty imposed upon her by her sex and by the cause of purity—her own cause—of protesting at

any cost, in the name of the rights, the dignity, the purity of one half of the human race, against this white slave trade carried on to satisfy the lust of man.

Mrs. Butler followed Mr. Stansfeld in an address of great power and eloquence. She said : "The President has uttered words of earnest appeal and words of blame to us women. Yes, I confess it ; I confess it for all women, we have been guilty in this matter, and not merely in the past, we are so still ; we are not ready *for all sacrifices*. But a new light has arisen, a new era dawns upon this question ; a voice has been raised, feeble at first, but daily gaining strength, until at last a great cry has gone up which has echoed across Great Britain, Europe, and America, and resounded to the extremities of the world. A new influence has made itself felt, an influence which, from the moment of its uprising, owing to that natural and providential law which rouses the oppressed to struggle for deliverance, was predestined to reach the root of the evil. What is the new social force which has hitherto been absent, and which is indispensable to all efficacious action upon this question ? It is the action

of women. The-voice of God—as far as we may recognize it from the world's history—has called to this work, not merely a few devoted women, but a large army of women, who have identified themselves with the crowd of unhappy and degraded women who are their sisters. Herein consists—I beg of you, gentlemen, to note this—herein consists our strength ; the strength of us women. Our strength consists in the fact that we are united and identified with the sufferings of this class of our enslaved sisters. This forlorn class has recently found a voice—our voice, the voice of happier women, who abhor the degradation into which their sisters are sunk, and who love them, although they be guilty and fallen. We have been awakened out of our deep sleep by a terrible shock ; but we will never sleep again.

There are certain truths of human nature which can never be clearly seen, certain questions which can never be efficiently treated, dark social problems into which the light will never enter, so long as they are examined and directed by men only, even though these men be guided by just and equitable principles. These questions can only be solved when illumined by the combined light of

the conscience and intelligence of man and woman. During the present week, we have before us a great task. We shall discuss this grave question in five different sections. As to the Regulations of Vice with which we are already acquainted, it is probable that we shall all agree that they ought to be abolished. But when we quit this work of abolition, and come to the consideration of future measures, we may find ourselves disagreeing, and perceive considerable dangers in our path.

With regard then to the discussions about to begin, allow me gentlemen, to address to you a word of warning. Gentlemen, you will no longer find before you a silent and submissive class, having no will of its own, a class of women who have been named by Dr. Hippolyte Mireur "*the things of the Administration*;" you have now before you a class which, for the first time, has found a tongue; a revolted class, which comprises all the women upon this earth. It is not merely the unhappy class, now down-trodden, who are wronged; if they are wronged, we are still more so in their wrongs.

"Inasmuch as ye have done this unto one of these little ones, you have done it unto me."

You hygienists, you legislators, you are men ; you it is who make the laws, who order public measures and prescribe the means of preserving the public health. You are learned and sincere men, but forget not in making your plans for the future that you may not dare ignore this new element, this new force, the awakened conscience of women who demand from you an account of your decisions ; the rebellious hearts of women who will never forsake their unhappy sisters. You have to take into your account the holy revolt of rebels who have rebelled in the name of justice and of the law of God.

Now ladies, now sisters, I have a word for you also. If it is henceforth forbidden for men to undertake the solution of this question without the help of women ; so also have women a moral obligation before man and before God to play an active and aggressive part in the execution of this task. You can no longer neglect your high responsibility upon this question without being guilty of unfaithfulness towards men, who are your brothers, your husbands, your friends, your sons. Our part is not merely that of healing the wounds which men have made, of gathering around us and of

saving the broken fragments of this forlorn portion of humanity, which has been destroyed through our selfishness and cowardice. Our duty it is to prevent such destruction ; to unite actively and aggressively with men in every work of destruction and of reconstruction which has for its aim an attack upon the sources of the evil ; our duty it is to rectify the judgment of society at large upon this question ; to enter into the discussion and the accomplishment of every measure, public or private, legislative, hygienic, or economic, by which its solution is sought ; for this question never has been, and never will be solved by men acting alone ; so long as they act alone they must inevitably fail. The noblest amongst men are the first to admit this.

At the present day we are called upon by the voice of God himself to accept this great responsibility. If we are unfaithful, if we do not answer to this call, we shall deserve the curse of future generations.

I would make a special appeal to Christian women. Do not limit yourselves to the works of rescue and help, noble and necessary though they be, to which you have already devoted your-

selves. These works, be sure of it, will develop themselves all the more for your having the courage to assume the complete responsibility of which I have spoken. Experience teaches us that no new good work that you undertake will hinder those you have already in hand, and that each noble endeavor becomes the source of a thousand other good actions. In no part of the gospel do we find one-half only of the character of Christ set before us as an example for women. If Christ came for all, He was an example to all. I hear a good deal said in these days about the mission of woman. I know not what this mission is if it be not that of imitating the whole of the most perfect character that the world has ever seen. It is true that Jesus cured the sick, blessed little children, and fed the hungry, etc., but He also severely denounced the false judgments of the world ; He stood up with all His strength against the injustices wrought by the strong against the weak ; He levelled all false and arbitrary distinctions ; He was a reformer so daring and radical that the corrupt society of His day thought it most convenient to put Him to death.

Do you wish to follow Jesus, my sisters? You

must then stand up like Him against the false judgments that poison society, and if you are ready to follow Him in this, you must be ready to endure contempt, calumny, and persecution, for these trials will pursue you to the end. As for the men who seek to shelter themselves behind their lying and cruel devices to escape the penalties that follow the indulgence of their vices, I will quote for them the words of the old prophet :—

“Wherefore hear the word of the Lord, ye scornful men that rule the people which is in Jerusalem. Because ye have said, We have made a covenant with death and with hell, are we at agreement ; when the overflowing scourge shall pass through, it shall not come unto us : for we have made lies our refuge ; and under falsehood have we hid ourselves :

“Therefore, the Lord God hath said : Judgment also will I lay to the line, and righteousness to the plummet : and the hail shall sweep over the refuge of lies and the waters shall overflow the hiding place. And your covenant with death shall be disannulled, and your agreement with hell shall not stand ; when the overflowing scourge shall pass through, then ye shall be trodden down by it.

From the time that it goeth forth it shall take you : for morning by morning shall it pass over, by day and by night : and it shall be a vexation only to understand the report."

As a speaker Mrs. Butler has great power and influence with her hearers. In this respect she has few equals on either side of the Atlantic.

Following Mrs. Butler's address, some of the addresses forwarded to the Congress from various committees and organizations in different countries were read or announced, including an address from the New York Committee for the prevention of licensed prostitution.

The several sections held separate meetings daily, and one general meeting of the members of all the sections was held each day, under the particular direction of some one of the sections. There were about one hundred and twenty papers upon various aspects of the question presented, and many of them of great value. They were distributed to appropriate sections and read in full or in part as time would allow. The discussions were searching and earnest, but characterized to a remarkable degree by courtesy and a kindly feeling. The proceedings were in French

and English, the former predominating. There were frequent translations, that all might be reasonably well informed as to the substance of the deliberations.

Among the English speaking delegates, Mrs. Howe, of Boston, spoke with exceptional fluency and ease to herself and her hearers. She participated in the proceedings of the sections on Morals and Legislation, and addressed briefly the closing session of the Congress. She invited attention to the desirability of co-education for girls and boys, and of enfranchisement and equal opportunities for women, and was listened to with marked attention. Dr. Winslow, of Washington, read a paper before the Hygienic Section on the moral attitude of the medical women of America, and received the thanks of the section, and also spoke in one of the general meetings of the efforts for and against the introduction of the regulation system in Washington.

At the general meeting of the Legislative section, Mr. Powell, of New York, presented a paper upon "Regulation Efforts in America." Sir Harcourt Johnstone read a paper of much interest upon the progress and prospects of the Repeal

movement in Great Britain. The papers as a whole covered a wide range of topics and embodied a large amount of most valuable information concerning the causes, consequences and methods of dealing with social vice. Contributions were also sent from America by Mrs. Caroline H. Dall, of Boston, Dr. Lozier of New York, and the Woman Suffrage Association of New York.

CONCLUSIONS.

The conclusions of the Congress will be of most importance to the general public. Each Bureau or section formulated a series of resolutions or propositions which were discussed and adopted by the section, and which were also subsequently presented and ratified at the general meeting at which the members of all the sections were present.

In view of the great diversity in habits of thought, in education and experience in so large a body, representing as many nationalities, the unanimity with which the important conclusions of the Congress were reached was something remarkable. They are as follows :

SECTION OF HYGIENE.

I.

The Section of Hygiene affirms : That self-control in sexual matters is one of the indispensable bases of the health of individuals and of nations.

II.

That prostitution is a fundamental violation of the laws of health.

III.

Considering that the duties of the Department of Public Health ought not to be restricted to the prophylaxy of the diseases which afflict the population, we declare its true function to be that of developing in the people all the conditions favorable to health, of which public morality is the highest expression.

IV.

The Section of Hygiene repudiates all systems of police regulation of prostitution, on account of their entire want of success. It bases this view upon the following reasons, among others : That the compulsory surgical examination of women is revolting to human nature ; that it

can only reach a certain number of prostitutes ; that it is not to be relied upon to discover the gravest constitutional form of disease, or to arrest its progress ; and that consequently it gives a false security in regard to the health of the women examined.

V.

The Section of Hygiene urgently desires the removal of the obstacles which prevent the treatment of venereal diseases as readily as all other diseases, in all hospitals under the control of municipalities or other public bodies, as well as in all those supported by voluntary contributions.

VI.

The Section of Hygiene also expresses its desire that the ordinary police should cause decency to be respected in the street, and in all public places, and that it should repress all public scandal, whether caused by men or women.

SECTION OF MORALITY.

I.

The Section of Morality affirms: That the practice of impurity is as reprehensible in men as in women.

II.

That "Regulation" tends to destroy the idea of the Unity of the Moral Law for both sexes, and to lower the tone of public opinion upon this subject.

III. *

That every system which organizes prostitution, is an incitement to debauchery ; that it augments the number of illegitimate births, increases clandestine prostitution, and lowers the level of public and private morality.

IV.

That the compulsory medical examination of women which is the basis of all systems of Regulation, is an outrage upon the woman, and tends to destroy every trace of modesty in her.

V.

That Registration is an offence against personal liberty and the common law.

VI.

That the State, by the system of Regulation, ignores its duty of equally protecting both sexes ; corrupts them both, and degrades woman.

VII.

That the State, whose mission it is to protect minors and assist them in their endeavours to live virtuously, does on the contrary incite them to debauchery, by facilitating the practice thereof through the system of Regulation.

VIII.

That by authorising houses of debauchery, and making of prostitution a regular profession, the State sanctions the immoral prejudice that debauchery is a necessity for men.

IX.

That an appeal be made to the conscience of all editors, authors, booksellers, and hawkers, upon the two continents, urging them not to aid or favor the diffusion of corrupt literature, licentious books, and obscene pictures.

SECTION OF BENEFICENCE.

I.

The Section of Beneficence affirms : That the ideas implied by State Regulation of Vice are incompatible with all ideas or endeavors after rescue and rehabilitation.

II.

That it has been proved that the Regulation of prostitution is a great obstacle to the success of works of rescue, because registration and the medical examination are opposed to every sentiment of female modesty ; a sentiment never utterly extinguished in any woman, however degraded, and render more difficult that rehabilitation which may and ought to be hoped for in the case of every woman.

III.

That it is desirable that *Homes* should be everywhere established in which the system adopted should be as little penitentiary as possible, because Christian love is the only efficacious method of saving young girls.

IV.

That it is desirable that a system of communication be established to put a stop to the white slave trade in all countries, and to watch over the interests of women seeking employment in all countries.

SECTION OF SOCIAL ECONOMY.

(The resolutions of the Section of Social Economy take the form of answers to a series of questions propounded by the President.)

I.

• Are the interests, rights, and economic independence of women sufficiently guarded by laws, customs, and manners?

Answer (unanimous) : NO.

II.

Can the practice of a mechanical trade or profession by a woman be reconciled with her duties towards the family and the domestic hearth?

Answer : That depends upon the profession itself, and the individual position of the woman herself.

III.

Is the present rate of remuneration for women's labour sufficient to satisfy their legitimate wants?

Answer (with a minority dissentient) : NO.

IV.

What are the principal causes of the insufficient payment of women's industry?

Answer (with a minority dissentient) : The

inequality which laws, customs, want of education, and the regulation of prostitution introduce between women and men.

V.

What are, or will be, the consequences on the economic and moral position of women, of their employment in manufactories, workshops, etc. ?

That will depend on circumstances ; but the law ought not to close against women any industrial employment by which they could gain an honest living.

VI.

Is Governmental or legal interference in favour of women in the organization of labour (length of hours of work, salary, &c.) desirable ?

Answer (with a dissentient minority of two) :
No.

VII.

What use can women make of the principle of association, for the amelioration of their condition from an economic point of view ?

Answer (unanimous) : The same use that men make of it.

VIII.

How can instruction and education be best organized so as to contribute most effectually to the social and economic relief of women ?

By not closing any branch of instruction or education to them, and by taking care that neither in society nor the public service is any special favour shown to men.

SECTION OF LEGISLATION.

I.

The Section of Legislation affirms : That the State has no right to regulate prostitution, for it ought never to compromise with evil or sacrifice constitutional guarantees to questionable interests.

II.

Every system of official regulation carries in its train the arbitrary rule of the police and the violation of the judicial safeguards guaranteed to all individuals, even to the greatest criminals, against arbitrary arrest and imprisonment.

The compulsory sanitary examination of prostitutes is equally opposed to the common law (*le droit commun*).

As this violation of the common law is only committed towards women, it produces a monstrous inequality between woman and man ; woman is degraded to the position of a mere instrument, and is no longer treated as a human being—she is outlawed.

Moreover, by the regulation of vice, the State flatly violates its own penal law, because that law forbids all incitement to debauchery, and the State becomes at least an accomplice in such incitement, whenever practised in the establishments or by the women authorized by it.

The State, moreover, thereby ignores its duty of protection towards minors.

III.

The aim is missed, for Regulation creates and develops prostitution instead of diminishing it.

The increasing development of clandestine prostitution in towns where vice is regulated, suffices to show that the Regulations are always evaded. The increase of venereal disease, and the numbers of crimes against morality, in the same towns, are also a proof that Regulation fails to reach its proposed aim.

IV.

That the above reasons show the State should renounce the pursuit of the Hygienic aim, more especially as, in the present case, it is not a question of an external danger threatening the general public health, like epidemics, but a danger which individuals knowingly and voluntarily bring upon themselves.

The State ought then to abandon the administrative and arbitrary course, and limit its action to its judicial functions, and the Common Law.

V.

That the State should continue to punish the incitement of minors, of either sex, to debauchery, and especially to punish procurism.

It ought also to punish the kidnapping, hiring, or corruption of minors for purposes of debauchery.

It ought to interfere to prevent all collective organisation of prostitution, that is to say, it ought to punish the keepers of houses of public debauchery, and to punish the letting of houses or other dwellings for such purposes. We may instance the case of gambling houses which are interdicted by nearly all penal legislations.

We would preserve unaltered the actual penalties attached to outrages upon public morality, and especially all *public* provocation to debauchery, outrages upon individual morality, corruption of minors, and illegal sequestration.

VI.

That, as to the causes of prostitution which can be dealt with judicially, the State ought to punish the seduction (of minors) when brought about by false representations.

(The question ought to be studied as to whether the State ought not to re-establish the *recherche en paternité* in order to equalize the position of women and men.)

The Congress has thus furnished a common platform for all countries, as the basis of an effective opposition to a common enemy. It will mark in history the beginning of a new era in social progress. It has been found possible for a large congress of intelligent and highly reputable men and women to meet and deliberate, with a becoming delicacy, and a profound reverence for truth, upon the gravest of the problems which concern social science, Christianity, civilization

The oppressive silence so long maintained, has been effectually broken. Hereafter there will be a freer and more enlightened discussion of the causes and consequences of social vice, and of the best methods, not to regulate, but to cure and prevent it. Already there are most encouraging signs in Germany, Italy, Switzerland, France, and in Great Britain, of renewed activity and increased earnestness in well-directed efforts to promote the abolition of the odious system of government regulation, and to diminish prostitution itself.

America is fortunately free from the incubus of State regulated vice. Ours is the duty to see that it is kept so. Forewarned by such ineffectual efforts as regulationists here have already made, let us also be forearmed. We need also to organize and enlist in common with our fellow-workers elsewhere, in the grand moral struggle to break the fetters of State vice in other countries, and thus at the same time to preserve immunity for our own.

IV.

ADDRESS
OF THE NEW YORK COMMITTEE.

NEW YORK, August 13, 1877.

*To the International Congress concerning Govern-
ment Regulation of Prostitution :*

The New York Committee for the Prevention of Licensed Prostitution hails with much satisfaction your important convocation, and sends to you most cordial greeting.

Our chief American city, though suffering from the great evil of social vice, is as yet free from such governmental regulation as would extend to prostitution legal sanction and encouragement. We have, however, regulation advocates who seek to introduce, by authority of the State, the im-

moral and oppressive license system. Failing in earlier attempts, they have again sought to obtain for New York special legal authority to regulate and "localize" prostitution with police and medical supervision. We are grateful that thus far they have been unsuccessful. Our chief danger is that, in some indirect, covert manner a regulation scheme may be thrust upon us. Our safety will be assured only when the regulation system shall have been abolished in Great Britain and on the Continent. The perpetuation of Governmental regulation of prostitution in Europe is a standing menace to us in America.

We rejoice to note the progress of repeal work in Great Britain, and of the profoundly important agitation for abolition on the Continent, especially in Italy, Switzerland, Germany, France and Spain. This agitation, which has made possible your International Congress, marks the beginning of a social revolution vital to the welfare and happiness of the human race, and most important as allied to the progress of true Christian civilization.

Having, in America, abolished the cruel and unjust system of chattel slavery, we shall resist to the uttermost the introduction here of another, and, in some aspects, a yet more odious slave system which legalized prostitution creates for its victim class. We shall welcome, with thanksgiving, each new triumph in the interest of social purity and personal liberty in Europe, and shall labor and pray for a speedy, complete victory for the "new abolitionists'" movement. With eminent wisdom its code of morality exacts as indispensable an equal standard of personal purity for men and women, for the rich and the poor ; its principles are synonymous with those of the Gospel of the Prince of Peace.

We trust that your Congress may result in a new and an enduring bond of fraternal fellowship between all civilized nations, and give a powerful impetus to humane, philanthropic effort to rescue the weak and tempted from the moral and physical devastation of both "regulated" and "unregulated" prostitution everywhere.

Invoking for you the guidance of Divine Wisdom in your deliberations, and the abundant bless-

ings of the All-Father, we are your friends and co-workers.

A. H. GIBBONS, President.

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WILLIAM H. HUSSEY,		
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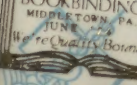


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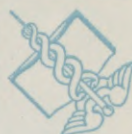


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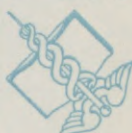


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